

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The Jubilee was celebrated at the Isle of Walcheven with as much festivity as in any part of his Majesty's dominions. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon General Don, with all the General Officers, and many of the principal inhabitants, paid their respects to Sir Eyre Coote at the palace. In every quarter of the Island the troops fired three volleys at noon; and at one all the ships fired a royal salute. After all the general officers, the public functionaries, and principal inhabitants had paid their respects to Sir Eyre Coote, they attended him in procession to the great Church, where detachments of the 8 Regiments in Middleburgh, with their colours, went also. At five Sir Eyre entertained a most numerous party to dinner at Middleburgh. Admiral Otway also gave a sumptuous entertainment on board the Caesar. In the evening there was a grand display of Fireworks at Middleburgh."

MORNING POST, Nov. 6, 1809.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AUSTRIA.—The Treaty of Peace between this power and France, which will be found at page 726 of the preceding sheet, may be said to *put an end* to Austria as a military power; because, though she will have some military means left, those means, from her situation, can never be employed, with any effect, *against France*. In fact, the thing, to which I have just referred, called a *Treaty of Peace*, is nothing more than a list of the several things which Napoleon takes from Francis, who, as it were in mere mockery, is permitted to retain his *titles*.—This fall of Austria will have no good effect upon the old governments, which are, as yet, unsubdued. Like the silly birds, known to those who have been in the Northern Seas, they will pursue their old courses. Nothing will be a sufficient warning to them. They will still go on in those very practices which have brought their allies on their knees. Shoot half a flock of the birds on the rocks off Newfoundland, and the other half will, after a short flight, come back and alight upon the same spot. Nay, kill them all but one bird, that one will come and present itself as it were for the express purpose of being destroyed too.—I know of nothing in nature, these birds excepted, to be compared to the old governments of Europe.—But, the truth is, that, in general, those, in whose hands those governments are, know very well, that *to alter their courses* would be to insure their *individual ruin*; would reduce them to their proper level; would, in short, prevent them from living by the means of public robbery; would compel them to work for their bread. Governments, when they fall into a state of decay, become, like decayed buildings, tenanted by odious and noxious animals; and, it is not from

such that you have to expect any of those measures, which would have for their objects renovation and security; for, every measure of that sort must tend directly to the expulsion of those, who can exist only amidst rust, rubbish, and corruption.—General, therefore, as is the wonder, the impatient astonishment, that the old governments do not profit from the awful fate of their former associates, such astonishment is not very natural, and, indeed, is very unnatural, when we take time to reflect on the consequences of the state of things just described. We cry out against those, whom we wish to take measures for restoring the sense and vigour of government, but we should have the justice to reflect, that, if such sense and vigour were restored, those persons might happen to starve; I mean actually starve, for want of victuals and drink; and, we should not forget, that an animal's being odious and noxious does not prevent it from having a strong desire to live.—If men in general had seen the matter in this light, much less would have been said and written in the way of lamentation that the old governments of Europe continued so blind. They have *not been blind*: not at all blind; nor have they acted like blind people; for, if the persons constituting them adopted what was *necessary to preserve the governments*, they adopted what was *certain ruin* to themselves; whereas they had a *chance* of retaining their power, their riches, and their luxuries, if they did not adopt such measures. People have, in short, been complaining of the old governments for not doing for themselves full as bad, if not worse, than the French could possibly do for them.—"But," I shall be asked, "are the people, the nations, over whom those governments have ruled; are their interests, their honour, their safety to be left out of the question, and that, too, as

"completely, as if they were not in existence?"—Why, upon my word, this is a question, which I shall leave the querist himself to answer; I shall merely repeat, that I think it quite unnatural, perfectly absurd, to suppose, that any set of persons, getting a good livelihood by conducting an old rotten government, should, of themselves, ever attempt to mend that government, seeing that the amendment must begin by their good livelihood being taken from them; and, having said this, I shall, I hope, hear no more of those melancholy reflections respecting the *obstinacy* and *blindness* of the old governments in not having, in time, adopted measures of renovation. The *Prince of Peace*, for instance; was he *blind*? Suppose he had adopted "*timely*" measures of renovation. What would have been the consequence? Why, his fall would have come *sooner* than it did; and, his fate would have been worse; for, in that case, he would, in all human probability, have had to work for his bread; I mean to *dig*, or, if not skilful enough for that, to fill a dung-cart, or rake the kennel. Who, therefore, can blame the Prince of Peace for not adopting "*timely*" measures of renovation?—It is thus with all, who have the conducting of such a government, who must laugh immoderately at those who complain of them for not turning themselves into the street.—If the reader be satisfied of the truth of these observations, he will get rid of, at least, one *source of deception*; and will, of course, be the better for them. He will not any longer waste his time in lamentations about the "*obstinacy*" and "*blindness*" and "*infatuation*" of the old governments, and will, with more tranquillity, wait the course and the effects of those events, which, it is very evident, are not to be resisted by the miserable means hitherto opposed to them.—It is impossible to view this peace between France and Austria without recollecting, that the war, which produced it, was hailed, by the hireling prints in England, as one of the most fortunate events that had ever occurred in the world. In fact, it is my real belief, that our government and our partizans were the cause, and the *sole* cause of that war; for, if this had not been the case, is it possible that Austria, then *at war with us*, would have *drawn bills of exchange upon us the moment she drew her sword?* The French bulletins made some mention of the papers of MR. GENTZ, which they had taken. Would to God, that the

people of England could see those papers! We should, I suspect, there see the history of the origin of the war, of that war which has led to this peace in spite of "*the battle of Aspern*," the account of which I believe to have been a gross fabrication.—Not able to make us believe any longer, that Napoleon was defeated, the base hirelings of the London press, told us he was *mad*; and, just at the moment, when the fools, who believe those hirelings, were expecting to hear of his being clapped up in a straight waistcoat, as is the custom in such cases, out comes this treaty of peace, with his name to a ratification of it; out comes an indubitable proof of his sanity, of his wisdom as well as of his valour. The Athenians, when in the last stages of their independence, used, we are told, to circulate lies respecting the ill *bodyly* health of the conqueror whom they feared, and, having so done, hug themselves in believing in the *belief* of what they *knew* to be false. After having done this for several years, we have, at last, fallen to inventing lies respecting the *mental* health of Napoleon. We have, at different times, given him all the mortal diseases, to which the body is subject; we have wasted him with consumption and blown him up with the dropsy; we have brought him to death's door in all manner of ways; but, not being able to kill him, we now seem resolved, that he shall live without brains. It was told to some king, who happened to have cowardly commanders, that a certain famous captain of the age was "*a madman*"; "*Is he so?*" answered the king, "*I wish he would bite some of my generals.*"—To be sure, nothing can more strongly paint the state of vassalage in which our press is, than this simple fact, that it was believed here, that the Emperor Napoleon was actually *insane*, at the very moment when he was engaged in the most important negociation that Europe has witnessed for many years. When the historian shall come to this part of our history, he will need only this one fact to prove what a besotted people great part of us, at least, were become. Nay, there is something in this fact beyond a proof of mere stupidity; for, the cause of our *believing* in the insanity of Napoleon was that we *wished* it. This belief still exists; it has not yet travelled over more than two thirds of these islands, and has yet to go to the East and West Indies. To wish one's enemy *insane*, coolly and deliberately to wish this is a

mark of excessive baseness; and, in all the hireling prints, in the country as well as in London, this wish, respecting the Emperor Napoleon, was expressed in a way not to be misunderstood. All that seemed to be wanted was to mould this wish into a *prayer* for the Jubilee.— What! you wretched vermin, do you pretend, that, because an Emperor happens to be a little maddish, or so, he is the *worse for that?* Why! did you not tell us, that the Queen of Portugal was a most excellent Queen of Portugal, and that she was almost *adored by her subjects?* Do you not remember this? And how you told us of the *wonderful marks of the hand of Providence*, who, upon the said Queen being driven into exile by Buonaparté, experienced a mental restoration before she had been many hours upon the salt-water? Have you so soon forgotten this? Well, then, what foundation for joy is there in the circumstance of our enemy being mad? You will not now believe, that he is not mad, though you hear of his *hunting* at Fontainbleau. What, then, you think, perhaps, that *madmen sometimes go a hunting;* and that their companions of the chase are, *in fact, so many guards and watches?* In short, there is nothing too absurd for you to think, or to say that you think, when the object is to create a belief disadvantageous to poor Buonaparté, whose madness will be believed in, by some people in this country, if he should live and reign to the end of their lives.— It is curious to observe the contrast in the language of the English hired prints and that of the prints (not less hired, perhaps) in France and other parts of the continent, with regard to the situation and the feelings of the people, who, in consequence of this treaty of peace, have changed their masters. Our hirelings assert, that the said people are sunk in despondency; that they look, with longing eyes, after their late “dearly beloved sovereign,” the “chaste and pious” Francis, and his “illustrious” family; that they detest the French, and especially Buonaparté; and, in short, that they do not seem to care whether they die or live. The French prints, on the contrary, assert, with equal confidence, that the change has infused fresh life into the people; that hope once more dawns upon them after a long, long night of tyranny-created despair; that the gloom of long-settled despotism is breaking away before the sun of freedom; that their revenge is sunk in

their joy, or else swift destruction would await the numerous blood-suckers, the agents of their late governments; that they love the French armies, receive them as brothers, and adore Napoleon as their deliverer; and, in short, that it was not till now that they began to think life worth preserving.— Now, though I believe, that *all* which is asserted, as to this point, by our hireling prints; that *every word of it is false*, I do not believe *all* that the French prints assert. As to *freedom*, the people in question will not, I fear, taste much of that; but, I think, there can be no doubt, that the lot of the people will, upon the whole, be much bettered. They will get rid, not of taxes and duties, but of some of them, and they will certainly get rid of many of their present cursed oppressors. They will see (and that will be a scene of great satisfaction) thousands and tens of thousands of those, who have so long been sucking their blood, driven away from the country, or sunk into poverty and disgrace. They will have the happiness of daring to *kick* those, who, for so long a time, have, under the protection of the bayonet, robbed and insulted them; and this is, at any time, worth *any risk*. Besides, a people, daily robbed and insulted, have nothing to risk; for, what, except death, can man endure more than robbery and insult? A people, so situated, have a chance of gain in any change, and never a chance of loss. The French *may* possibly be *as bad* as their former masters; but they *cannot* be *worse*: so that the people have the clear advantage of seeing the fall of their former oppressors. To hear our hirelings, one would suppose, that the French, upon taking possession of a conquered country, *swallowed up* all the food and drink and live stock and unthrashed corn and even the land, literally swallowed them all up; for they tell us of the people being *ruined*; of all their *property* being *taken from them*; of their being *stripped* of every thing; and the like. But, certainly these, as to conquered countries in general, not only are, but necessarily *must be*, mere raw-head-and-bloody-bone-tales. Whence are the mouths to come to swallow up all the eatables and drinkables of a country of any extent? But, suppose these hirelings to mean merely the taking possession of people's property, of their land, houses, goods and cattle. Whence are to come the persons so to *take possession*? Are they to be brought from France? The notion is wholly false and absurd. The

*interest* of the conqueror imperiously calls upon him to respect property ; to make as few changes of property, amongst the mass of the people, as possible ; and, with regard to the conquests of Napoleon, this call has invariably been obeyed. Indeed, none but a miserable fool would attempt to act otherwise ; and Buonaparté is not a miserable fool.—All, therefore, that we are told about the *destruction of property*, in the conquered countries, is false ; unless the word property be confined to the incomes of those, who live upon the taxes, and the far greater part of whom plunder the people. The *property* of these gentry, indeed, must, in cases of conquest, be in a perilous way. Some of them, and as many of them as are able, turn traitors, and thus bespeak the good will of the conqueror ; but, the greater part sink into insignificance, become poor, miserable things ; and, if this be not a *good*, the word *good* has not the meaning that I have always understood it to have.—There was a sentiment, expressed, I remember, by Colonel Craufurd, in a speech upon one of Addington's army-making bills, that struck me as very unnatural. It was this, that a people, *rather than pass under the sway of a foreign conqueror*, however mild that sway might be, *would quietly submit to be whipped with a rod of scorpions by a native tyrant*. Where the Colonel got this philosophy I know not ; but, I am quite certain that he did not find it in the experience of any country in the world ; and, really, it is astonishing that such a sentiment should have been expressed in any *English assembly*. Experience will, I believe, teach us precisely the contrary ; and, I think, it will be found, that, amongst nations, as amongst individual families, men will take that from the hands of strangers that they will not take from those who make part of themselves. The yoke of the foreign conqueror may be full as heavy, but it is not half so *galling*, as that of the domestic despot ; who, to the real sufferings that he inflicts, adds the crimes of treachery, usurpation, and ingratitude, from all which the foreign conqueror is free. Nor is the yoke of a foreign conqueror so *disgraceful* to a people, as is the yoke of a domestic despot ; because the former *may*, at least, have been imposed by irresistible force, whereas the latter could never have been imposed but through the stupidity, the baseness, or the sheer cowardice of the people. A people, subjugated by a foreign conqueror, may deserve to be free ; but a

people, subjugated by a native despot, must deserve to be slaves.—If I am right in these observations, how vain are all the hopes of our hirelings, who seem to rely upon risings and insurrections in the countries conquered by Buonaparté ! How vain are all those hopes, which, with a view of cajoling us on from one year of war to another, and to the bearing of tax upon tax, have been inculcated through about two hundred mercenary periodical publications, and the editors of which publications live, in great part, upon the fruit of such cajolery ! How vain are all the expectations of all the hundreds of thousands of those, who live upon the taxes, that pestilence and famine and death in all its most horrid shapes will stalk at large, will sweep over, every country that has been subdued by, and that has submitted to, the Emperor Napoleon ! It cannot have escaped any man of common observation, that these detestable hirelings have invariably extolled to the skies every nation at war with Buonaparté ; but that, the moment such nation was subdued by him, these same hirelings have described them as the basest of mankind. Nay, it has sometimes happened, as in the case of the Austrians, that, after being subdued, they have been surrendered to their old master, and have, under him, renewed the war against Buonaparté ; and, in this case, they have, with our hirelings, instantly regained their former exalted character, and have again become the subjects of their unbounded applause.—One would think it impossible for publications like these to be tolerated in any country ; and certainly their being tolerated here is amongst the worst signs of the times.—There is one more topic, connected with the peace between France and Austria, that I shall shortly touch upon here ; namely, the probability, that Napoleon will now lose no time in making *serious attempts upon Ireland*, of the *situation* and *disposition* of the people of which country I need say nothing, especially to those who reflect upon the inevitable consequences of the measures, adopted with respect to that people, during the last three years. I cannot help observing, however, that only about two years have passed over our heads, since Mr. Grattan declared, in the House of Commons, that *there was a French Party in Ireland*. Now, if this was true, at that time, and if it was, in consequence of this fact, necessary to pass that *act* which

I will not attempt to describe, I will just ask the reader, what he thinks is the state of the Irish mind, with respect to France, at this time?—It is said, that Napoleon is actually making preparations for an invasion of Ireland. This is stated upon the authority of persons said to have escaped from France; and it is added, that the corps of *Irish Emigrants* have received orders to hold themselves in readiness for the expedition.—This is a little too hasty to come from a head like that of the Emperor. He does not, like some folks, act first and think afterwards; or, think first, and never act at all, till every chance of success has vanished. But, there can be very little doubt, that, as soon as he has settled the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and got some ships into their ports, an invasion of Ireland will be attempted, and that, too, from various points at once. Then we shall feel the effects of our present and obstinately-persevered-in mode of naval warfare; or, rather, then we shall feel the effects of the *borough system*, for to that nefarious system all our misfortunes and disgraces, abroad as well as at home; all our bad measures in war as well as in peace; all our national calamities, of every sort, are to be ascribed.

JUBILEE.—Well, and what if the continent be subdued; and what if our turn of, at least, constant alarm be now come; what of these? We still can hold a *jubilee*, and go to church, and thank God for a reign, which, at the close of its forty-ninth year, sees us in a state of continual jeopardy; in a state, which places an army of foreign mercenaries, in the heart of the country; in a state in which we see officers of those foreign mercenaries, taking the command, even at reviews, in our own counties, of English officers and regiments, not excepting regiments of militia: yes, in such a state of things, we can hold a jubilee; we can go and turn up the whites of our eyes and clench our hands together and make responses and sing anthems with a voice as loud as that of Martin Morales: yes, there are to be found amongst us, people thus to go and to thank God, to look upwards, as if in the face of their Maker, and thank him for a reign that found all our enemies at our feet, and which has brought us to a point, which it is unnecessary to attempt to describe. Numerous are the denunciations against *hypocrisy*, but our Jubilee crew seem to have forgotten them

all.—The conduct of many of the clergy, upon this occasion, is worthy of notice; but, we must not be too general here, because many honourable exceptions will have occurred to every man, who has had the means of extensive observation.—We hear talk of *enemies of the Church*: but, the real enemies of the Church are those, who make use of it for political purposes, for those purposes, which, first or last, must be universally reprobated. A few years ago, as a correspondent observes, the Clergy lent their churches, and were most active in preaching for, and even, in some instances, threatening their flocks into subscriptions to the LLOYD'S FUND, called by its managers, *Patriotic*. The recent attempt to revive that fund has shared the fate of the attempt of John Bowles and his brother Commissioners to revive Jacobinism. The late trick of a Jubilee has, in fact, also failed, and utterly disappointed its planners and proposers. To require men to rejoice and be glad at the end of the 49th year of the present reign for what has happened in it, would be like requiring a man to laugh and be happy with his hand held in a hot fire; or like asking a man sick in bed to get up and dance and sing. The thing is impossible, and the project, the trick, has failed entirely from the natural and innate feelings of all men at the present crisis. But, those hypocrites, who put forward the project with their usual cant and cunning, are now grievously vexed at its failure, and, taking advantage of a proposition, made in the City by those hostile to the Jubilee, of converting it to the purposes of charity, they have again set the clergy to work to collect money, under the specious pretence of *relieving the poor*, but, in fact, to endeavour, by this contrivance, to let down easy their plan of rejoicing, at a time when men feel only fear and distress; shame for things that have passed, and apprehension for the future; and, in the midst of a war that promises no termination, but in a peace without security. Amongst many, who have written to me upon this subject, one gentleman tells me, that the parson of his parish came to his door, with his *Beadle* and six other persons, to ask for money on this occasion; that he gave them none, but told them frankly that they seemed to be making an attempt to *frighten* or *cajole* people out of their property; else why not appoint a place and leave people to carry in their subscriptions. He tells me, that he knows of several persons, particularly old women

and others who are timid, that have drawn their purses through fear, and fear only. —This is the case all over the country. Not a penny is given from the pretended motive.—I cannot help noticing, in a particular manner, the Jubilee subscriptions at *Hampstead*, swarming, I dare say, with government dependents, with creatures who live upon the public. From a printed paper, now lying before me, purporting to be an account of the proceedings of the Jubilee Crew at *Hampstead*, and signed by a person named CHARLES CARTWRIGHT, as Chairman, it appears, that there was found to be, in that village, *two thousand one hundred* poor persons, fit objects to be relieved; and, it was, accordingly resolved, to give to each of the families, to which the said persons belonged, a piece of beef, and a proportionate quantity of bread, potatoes, and porter, and also a quantity of coals sufficient for dressing the same! Why not lend them platters too, and knives, that, for once, they might not tear their food with their claws? Well; but what were these people to rejoice for? Why, that they got a maw full, to be sure; for, as to rejoicing for any good that their country had enjoyed, the very thought would have been an absurdity. But, mark, here were 2,100 objects of compassion; 2,100, who were in want even of a couple of hat-fulls of coals; and, according to the official returns laid before parliament, the whole of the population of *Hampstead* amounts to no more than 4,343; so that these canting gentry, these people who are calling upon the nation to thank God for the blessings of this reign, have themselves, in print, and under their signatures, furnished us with the proof, that within a very trifle of one half of the people in this "loyal" parish, are objects of compassion on account of their poverty; are so poor as to fender a single meal of animal food a thing worth applying for and going after; are so wretched as to render two hat-fulls of coals an object worth their acceptance. This is, indeed, a striking fact. It is, at once, proof of the misery of the people and of the craft of those who have been treating them.—The intention (and I beg the reader to bear it in mind), the declared intention, of the first open movers of the Jubilee, was, to have a feasting, and nothing but a feasting, all over the country. They said nothing about charity, and, indeed, to keep a jubilee in honour of a reign which exhibited such swarms of paupers; to thank God for all this pauperism and mis-

ry, must have seemed a little inconsistent. But, the harvest happening to run rather short, and bread rising just about the time that the jubilee project was first broached, the projectors began to fear that their festivity would not be very well stomached by the half-starved people, who have had the happiness to live under the jubilee reign. It was not till now, and till the crew received some gentle hints of what they might expect; it was not till now that they thought of the charity part of the scheme. In fact, they found, that, if they did not give the hungry poor a share with them, the Jubilee feast was very likely to lead to the very thing which the feast was intended to prevent; and that, instead of continuing the blindness of the common people, it would, at once, open their eyes. The charity, therefore, was a sort of sop to keep the poor and hungry from making clamorous complaints. But, this sop was not to be given without acknowledging that, which, upon such an occasion, the crew must have been desirous to keep out of sight; because, what could be more mortifying, than, on a day of Jubilee, to make such a grand exhibition of poverty and misery; to exhibit such undeniable proofs of the evils of the reign, which the people were called on to celebrate, and for the blessings of which they were to thank God. —Much compassion, or affected compassion, has been, by our hirelings, bestowed upon the people of the continent, conquered or over-run by Buonaparté. But, strange as it may appear to us, those people, those very people, have been holding a sort of Jubilee, and, to all appearance, have greatly surpassed us in their manner of doing it. The *Moniteur* says: "The peace recently concluded has been announced in all the principal cities on the Continent, amidst the sound of cannon, and every demonstration of general rejoicing. At Vienna, Munich, Stutgard, Frankfort, Naples, Rome, Florence, Milan, Madrid, &c. as well as in Paris, illuminations have taken place. A hundred millions of men have taken part in this general festivity, and celebrated it with marks of public approbation." —Well, now, you hypocrites, what do you say to this? Was all this feasting and rejoicing a sham? Was it all a vile mockery? Were these signs of joy exhibited by slaves, with a view of gaining favour with their masters, or of saving themselves from the effects of the anger of those masters? Were these signs of joy merely made use of by some

for the rascally purpose of earning thereby a chance of picking the public pocket, or for the stupid one of obtaining some paltry title to gratify the vexatious vanity of a tawdry and freakish wife? Did these rejoicers, supposing, nay, *knowing*, Napoleon to be the *most consummate hypocrite of his age*, think to flatter him by this imitation of his conduct; and did he himself, at the same time and in the same act, seem as if he were resolved to out-hypocrite them? Now, I believe none of these. I believe, that *these rejoicings were not totally insincere*; but, *you must allow them to have been all sincerity, or else what becomes of your own illuminations, and other signs of joy?* At any rate, we do not find, that Napoleon's rejoicers had recourse to the trick of *stopping the mouths of the poor*. They seem to have been in no dread of a people wanting a single meal of victuals and drink.—Of all the good things, however, connected with this famous jubilee, that was the best, of which record is made in my motto. So, the people of Middleburgh kept the day with as much festivity as any people in his Majesty's dominions! I believe it, with all my soul. Full as much festivity, including, of course, heartiness, or, since-  
rity: and I verily believe, that the joy was full as sincere at Middleburgh as it was at London, or any where else. Yes, this is an excellent specimen. Were it not for this, we might be at a loss for a standard of interpretation. Now we know what the word *joy* meant, when used upon this occasion. But the joy, the heart-felt joy, and “pious gratitude to heaven,” visible in the island of Walcheren, were not confined to the inhabitants; they were also visible in every part of the army and the navy, who even fired *feus-de-joy* and royal salutes. Aye, this is it: *Make ready!*—*Present!*—*Fire!*—This is the true sort of *joy*; it is joy at word of command. This is *unanimity*; this is a specimen of that “electrick unison of ‘feeling,’ of which the wise-man of the Morning Post talked so nicely.—It would be curious to know, if one could ascertain it, how many thousands of *Englishmen, sick and dying*, there were in the island of Walcheren on the day of the jubilee; how many actually expired that day; how many were struggling in the last pangs of death, while the toasts and songs were going round at the festive table; and how many whose lives were shortened by the tremendous noise which must have prevailed. It would be cu-

rious to ascertain these facts. A *calculation* might come near to the point, which is a very interesting one.—Reader, let me take the liberty to press upon your attention this account of the Jubilee in Walcheren, given by the most famous of the literary hirelings in London. He tells us, that the people of Middleburgh *rejoiced*. Now, after this, will you say, that any account given by these mercenary wretches is to be relied upon? Will you believe, that people, in whose houses our troops were living at free-quarter, could join in any rejoicings of ours? No small part of the people of Middleburgh must have been much injured by the war; and, will you believe, that they *sincerely rejoiced*, that their expressions, of esteem; that, in short, their *prayers*, for the king of their invaders, were sincere? They, too, you will observe, *went to church*. Would it not have been a good thing to have *heard their prayers?*—Oh! it has been a sad scene of hypocrisy from the beginning to the end. There wanted nothing but this Jubilee to cap the character of those who set on foot and urged it forward. I repeat, however, that it has answered this good purpose; it has given rise to discussion, and will give rise to further discussion; for the promoters of it having thrown down the gauntlet, we shall not fail to take it up. They have, by their proposition to hold a jubilee, challenged us to a discussion upon all and singular the measures of the king's reign; they have invited us to examine into many things, which might have passed without examination; they have, in short, relieved us from all scruples as to many very delicate topics of discussion, and these we shall, of course, take up as occasion offers.

**CHANGE OF MINISTRY.**—The ministry, as at present composed, is, to be sure, such a thing as England never before saw; but, it does not follow, that it should not stand for all that the *Morning Chronicle*, with whatever reason and truth, can say against it. This print seems extremely angry, that *the nation appears to be perfectly indifferent about the matter*; but, why should the nation be otherwise?—This print, in notifying the intention of the government to evacuate (if they can) the island of Walcheren, has the following observations.—“At this determination “no man in the country can fail to re-“joice. But how acute must the feeling, “of the nation be when they see that

"about two months have been consumed before our *Rulers* could make up their minds on the question, amidst their eternal intrigues and disputes! The country was all the while forgotten. Week after week our brave soldiers were kept in a climate which was hourly thinning their ranks—not to mention the money spent during this dreadful interval, above 2,500 of our troops were buried in the island; no less than six thousand were sent home sick to the hospitals, and nearly the same number still remain sick in the island itself. An army of 18,000 men, the finest in our service, was thus kept lingering in that horrid climate, until it was reduced to about 2,000 fit for duty. More men were lost *for ever* to their country than the battles of the Nile, Trafalgar, Camperdown, and St. Vincent cost altogether. More men are left sick, with their health irreparably injured,—their constitutions damaged for life, than the whole of the wounded amounted to in all those naval victories, and in all the battles by land which we have fought in Egypt, Portugal and Spain. We do not here reckon the loss incurred by taking possession of Walcheren; we are only estimating what the delay in evacuating it has cost us. We are endeavouring to give some idea of what the country has paid *in blood*, for the cold, selfish, unprincipled intrigues of the Percevals, the Mulgraves, and the Whartons. While those Statesmen have been squabbling among themselves about place and profit, the country has been losing the enormous number of her bravest soldiers which is stated above. This delay then forms a new and terrible item in the account which those *intriguers* must soon render to an injured and insulted people. We must know why the evacuation, which was always known to be inevitable, was delayed for one hour. We must have satisfaction for the lives of those gallant men who have thus been sacrificed to ministerial caballing and jobbing. Their blood lies upon the head of the Ministers. They have not come fairly by their end; and the GREAT INQUEST OF THE NATION is now to sit upon their bodies. We challenge any man who has the common feelings of our nature to say whether an ignominious dismissal from office will satisfy the claims of justice in this atrocious case? We ask, is it enough to take away from those men the power of de-

"stroying more of our armies? We believe the feeling to be universal, that nothing short of a Parliamentary proceeding against those offenders, for the purpose of bringing them to an exemplary punishment, can either satisfy the nation for the past, or prevent a recurrence of the same calamities in future." —Here is, indeed, enough to stir the blood of any man. The subject, the bare facts, with this eloquent description, are enough to excite resentment in the breast of any man, not lost to all feeling. But, so ill-used has this nation been; so betrayed and insulted by both parties; so often have they seen that a change produces nothing but a new batch of peers and pensioners, that they cannot bring their minds to wish for any change. "We must have satisfaction for the lives of those gallant men, who have thus been sacrificed to ministerial caballing and jobbing." What! and does the editor of the Morning Chronicle believe, that, after what we have seen, there is one man in this whole kingdom fool enough, beast enough, brute enough, to suppose, that a change of ministry would produce us any such satisfaction? Have we not constantly seen, that, as soon as such change has taken place, there is an end of even all talk of inquiry; and that such questions are agitated merely for the purpose of putting out of power those who are in power?—Those who are now in power never would have been there, if the people had not become indifferent, and justly indifferent, upon the subject. When have the people obtained satisfaction for *any* thing? When have they seen any instance of real responsibility in any minister, or any servant of the crown? Aye, it is very true, that this affair of Walcheren is most horrible, and that of Spain nearly as bad; but, what hope have the people of redress; what hope can they find upon a change of ministry, when they recollect, that the leaders amongst those, who would supplant the present people, were also the leaders amongst those, who defended some of these very people, during the last session of parliament, in the commission of what was ten thousand times worse than the affairs of Walcheren and Spain united. Oh! it is, indeed, well for the Morning Chronicle to call upon the people, as it did about a week ago, to assemble in town and county-meetings, all over the kingdom, to petition the king to remove the ministers! The people, all over the kingdom, know

better; the people, all over the kingdom, remember, that when they met to vote thanks to Mr. Wardle, and to express their abhorrence of the *traffic in seats*, those, who now want their support, were amongst the first to abuse them for such meetings; amongst the first to call out against yielding to "popular clamour;" amongst the first, when the fact of seat-selling was ready to be proved, to cry out, "let us make a stand against popular encroachment;" the people, all over the kingdom, remember this, and, whatever other acts of baseness they may have been, and may yet be, guilty of, they will not, I think, be base enough to meet for any such purpose as that of putting one faction out of place and another faction, whose disposition towards them is exactly the same, in their stead. — Some people think, that the folks, now in place, will not be able to remain there after the meeting of parliament. For my own part, to say the truth, I have not bestowed many minutes of thought upon the subject, in which I cannot bring myself to feel any interest. I have seen the *outs* once *in*, and that is enough. It is, therefore, with me, and with most other people, I believe, a matter of very dry speculation, whether there will be a change, or not, when parliament meets. It will, in fact, be a question to be settled wholly by the borough-mongers. To them I, for my part, am very willing to leave it; and, whatever the editor of the Morning Chronicle may think, he will find, that the people, "all over the country," are of my mind. — I cannot get over this attempt to make us believe, that a change of ministry would bring us satisfaction for what has been done in Walcheren. This is so very impudent, especially after we have so recently seen the letter of Lord Grenville to Mr. Perceval, in which the former very plainly indicates, and, indeed, says, that he should have no personal objection to unite with the latter and his set. Oh, yes! we remember the satisfaction we obtained in the case of Pitt's forty-thousand-pound loan, out of the public money, to Boyd and Benfield. We, good silly souls, seeing the fact exposed, expected that the House of Commons would give us satisfaction for such an outrageous offence against us; but, the satisfaction, which we received, was to see the two factions most cordially unite in passing a *bill of indemnity* for the said offence; and, afterwards, in passing another *bill to make us pay his debts*, upon

the score of his public services. No: we do not expect any satisfaction, from any cause whatever, and least of all from a change of ministry. — "The account which those intriguers must soon render to an injured and insulted people." What unmeaning verbiage? An account! What account has any change of ministry, at any time, during this Jubilee reign, caused to be rendered to the people? The people! I wonder a partisan of the out-faction is not ashamed to name the people in such a way, seeing that, only in the very last session of parliament, the leaders of that faction most distinctly declared the voice of the people to be "popular clamour;" and, the addresses of the people to be "popular encroachment," against which it was necessary "to make a stand." — "The GREAT INQUEST of the nation," indeed! Oh, shameful abuse of words; and still more shameful attempt to impose upon the public! "The great inquest" is now to sit, is it? Well, let it sit; for we shall not disturb it by our curiosity. We have seen this Great Inquest sitting before now. We have seen it sit upon the affair of Pitt's forty-thousand-pound loan; we have seen it sit upon Lord Wellesley's India proceedings; we have seen it sit upon the case of the Duke of York; we have seen it sit upon Colonel Gordon's Chelsea Lease; we have seen it sit upon the case of Lords Castlereagh and Clancarty; we have seen it sit upon the case of Mr. Quintin Dick's Seat, when the great inquest, upon proof being offered it, almost unanimously refused to enquire. All this we have seen, and have it yet fresh in our memories. The great inquest, indeed! Shame on the man, who would thus delude his readers! — "But," some one will observe, "what are we to do, then? Would you let the affairs of the nation remain in the hands of the Walcheren ministry, who, but the other day, sent over bricks, timber and workmen, to build barracks, and who are now evacuating the island? Would you leave the affairs of the nation in the hands of men like these, two of whom, in consequence of a quarrel about place, turned out, upon a heath, the other day, and shot at each other's heads?" No: if I could have my wish, certainly I would not leave the affairs of the nation in their hands for a single hour. But, it does not follow, that, because I disapprove of them, I must approve of their opponents; and, though many

men may differ from me in this respect, the Morning Chronicle may be assured, that the time is passed when the people were content to be mere tools to one or the other of the factions. If I am told, as the *outs* have plainly told us, that, let us have which faction we may, there shall be no reform of abuses, that the people shall not be represented, but that all the power shall still be monopolized by the borough-mongers: if I am told this, then I say, that I care not one straw which faction it is that rules, and that I would scorn to vote, or to open my lips, for any purpose connected with a preference of one faction before the other.—“The people must take the consequences of their apathy,” we were told, the other day. So, belike, the Whigs, the haughty Whigs, who licked the shoes of the Grenvilles, will leave us to perish in the hands of the Walchereners, as a just punishment for our blindness in not being able to discover their superior patriotism. Oh, no! They, surely, would not be so hard-hearted! The Spartan General would, surely, relax, and, rather than leave us thus abandoned, I'll engage he would take another regiment, profits and all.—Empty threat! Why should we not perish in the hands of this ministry as well as in the hands of their opponents? We want the constitution of England, and unless we have that, we are in fact, perishing, in the only way, in which, as bearing upon the question before us, men can be said to perish; for, the Whigs will hardly pretend, that the continuance of their opponents in power will cause us to die. No, that is not what is meant. We want the constitution of England: both factions feel and declare themselves alike upon this subject: why, then, should we prefer one faction to the other?—In what way, for what cause, are wars and treaties, and, indeed public measures of any sort interesting to the people of a country? They are interesting to them, because they have an influence upon the condition of their lives, upon their happiness and fame, upon their property and their persons. So that after all, it comes to this: would our property and persons be less exposed under the *outs* than they now are? This is the only question that is worth the attention of any rational man. The *outs*, we are told, have greater abilities to conduct wars and negotiations, and would never have committed the blunders and caused such disgrace and misery as the *ins* have. This has by no

means been proved, either by reasoning or experience; but, admit it; take it for granted; I am still for no change; for, generally speaking, how is the nation affected by these blunders? How is its lot made worse? It is just where it was last year: a little heavier taxed indeed; but, that is natural and inevitable as long as the system lasts. Every man's property and person are with the exception of this addition to his taxes, just as they were, and so they would continue, if a change of ministry were to take place to-morrow. — Let us put the matter to the test a little more closely. We are, by the editor of the Morning Chronicle and other partisans of the *outs*, always told in general terms what a monstrous deal of good they would do us. The prediction, or promise, is always dressed up in fine high-sounding words; but nothing particular is ever stated; there is no precise mention of what these generous persons would do for us, in case they were to get possession of the powers of the state. Let us enumerate a few of the things, which are of real interest to every man of us; let us ask what would be the conduct of the *outs* with respect to these; let us try them by this test, and, if they will not bear it, we may safely conclude, that they are as well (for us) out of power as they would be in power.

FIRST, then, Would they, who nearly doubled the Income Tax, take off any part of that tax, render the imposition of it more equitable, or make the collection of it less odious and vexatious?

2nd, Would they take off, or diminish any tax whatever; or would they, in any way, lighten the pecuniary burdens that we bear, and that have subjected us to the almost daily visits of the tax-gatherer?

3rd, Would they, frankly agreeing to a fair inquiry in the case, put to rights the important matter of the *Droits of Admiralty*?

4th, Would they, setting the influence of lawyers at defiance, reform the Prize Courts, and give to the Navy what is now, to the infinite injury of the country, swallowed up by Proctors and Advocates, and an endless list of law officers?

5th, Would they lop off all unmerited Pensions and Sinecures, beginning with those of themselves and their families?

6th, Would they reduce all the useless

parts of the Army; introduce an impartiality of Promotion, taking merit as the sole ground thereof; and would they, in all promotions, employments, and contracts, in the Army as well as in the Navy, set borough-mongering influence at nought, and consult the public good, and that only?

7th, Would they, in all questions relating to Hanover, think only of the interests of England, and not think Hanover as dear to us as Hampshire? 8th, Would they dispense with the services of a great body of foreign Mercenaries, kept on foot in this kingdom, and paid out of the fruit of the people's labours?

9th, Would they, if Mr. Madocks's motion were renewed, for an inquiry into the circumstances of the Sale of a Seat in the House of Commons to Mr. Quintin Dick, support that motion?

10th, Would they bring forward, and maintain, with all their might, the desired measure of Parliamentary Reform, restoring to the great body of the people of property their due weight, and making the House of Commons in reality "*the representatives of the people?*"

Now, to point these questions as directly as possible, I put them, MR. PERRY, to you. You may know the intentions of your party. It is *possible*, that those intentions may be such as to enable you to answer all these questions in the *affirmative*, without the smallest hesitation; and, if this be the case, then I will say, that every man in the kingdom ought to bestir himself instantly for the purpose of bringing your party into power; but, if, on the contrary, you cannot answer even one of these important questions in the affirmative, then, of all the fools in this world, that man must be the greatest, who would stir hand or foot for the sake of a change of ministry. I beg you, Sir, not to condemn this invitation of mine; for, you grossly deceive yourself, if you suppose, that I am singular in these opinions. Indeed, you can hardly suppose so, seeing what you now see. The history of the last campaign is enough, one would think, to move stocks and stones to complain; but, you see, not a tongue moves: the people are as mute as so many fish: they would still be mute if ten thousand times worse were to happen: the last *parliamentary Campaign*, during which the two hos-

tile armies so cordially united "to make a stand against popular encroachment" (that is to say, against the people's complaints of *seats in parliament having been bought and sold*) that campaign rendered the people of this kingdom quite indifferent as to the events or the result or the consequences of any other campaigns; and, take my word for it, that, let the parliament meet when it will, your party will excite no *popular expression* against the ministers, who, if they do not want courage or perseverance, may keep their places, in spite of all the harangues that can be made against them.

—MR. PERRY complains bitterly, in his said paper of the 13th, of the power which certain great men have *over the ministry*, in consequence of their *influence elsewhere*; and he particularly mentions *Lord Wellesley* and *Lord Lonsdale*. The former of these, he says, "is understood to have *the giving away of one Secretaryship of the Treasury*"; and both are represented as having many places and appointments at their disposal. This is a subject of very loud complaint with Mr. Perry; but why is it so? Have not his whole party maintained, that this sort of influence *ought to exist*? Nay, have not his fellow-labourers, those who are, with him, regular *defenders of the faction*; I allude to the *EDINBURGH REVIEWERS*; have not they very recently published a set defence of that very system of an aristocratical influence, of which Mr. Perry now complains?—Shall we not, then, laugh at these complaints? What is it to us, who has the giving away of the places, *Lord Lonsdale* or *Lord Carrington*, or any other rich Lord. One is, for aught I know to the contrary, just as fit for it as the other; and I am sure the *right of one* is equal to that of the other.—No, Mr. Perry; never expect the *people* to stir again in behalf of any party, until that party shall have made an open and unequivocal declaration in behalf of the people, that is to say, for the measure of Parliamentary Reform, by which alone the people can be restored to their rights and their proper feeling. Nay! threaten us not with *approaching destruction*. We are deaf to that threat. We know that your party would do nothing to keep destruction away. Besides, what is it that we are to be afraid of? What is it that we have to apprehend? Will *additional burdens* be laid upon us? Is there a new insult in store? In short, what we want, the only thing worth caring about, your party will not let us have, if they can (by no matter

what means) prevent it, and, therefore, we wish your party to remain where they are, especially when we consider (and I do beg the reader to consider it well) that a change of ministry, though attended with no possible good to us, would be sure to produce an addition to the long list of pensioners, male and female, and, of course, would cause an addition to the taxes.—By way of conclusion, I earnestly beseech the reader to bear in mind this great, this all-important truth; namely, that all our evils, all the disgrace, all the miseries, all the dangers, of our country, arise from the exercise of that very influence, of which the Morning Chronicle complains; that, it is this influence, (an influence which totally stifles the voice of the people) which prevails in the filling of offices at home and commands abroad; that to it the creation of a great part of the national expences is owing; that it is a cormorant never to be satisfied: that nothing but a Reform of Parliament can do away this influence; and that, to such reform, the *outs* are as decidedly opposed as the *ins*.

W<sup>M</sup>. COBBETT.

*Botley, Thursday, 16 Nov. 1809.*

## COBBETT'S Parliamentary Debates:

The Subscribers to the above Work are respectfully informed, that the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Volumes, comprising the Debates in both Houses of Parliament during the last Session, will be ready for delivery on Friday the first of December.

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## COBBETT'S COMPLETE COLLECTION OF State Trials:

Comprising the Period from the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the First, A. D. 1640, to the First Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, A. D. 1649.

## The Sixth Volume of the Parliamentary History OF ENGLAND,

Will be ready for delivery in the Month of January, 1810.

PROCEEDINGS of the COMMON COUNCIL of the CITY of LONDON, at Guildhall: Friday, Nov. 3, 1809.—(Continued from p. 726.)

Mr. WAITHMAN certainly expected that he should have had to trouble the Court with only a few sentences on the present occasion. He was, as he imagined, relieved even from this necessity, when he had heard the speech of the Gentleman who had opened the business, and who opposed the Resolution simply on the ground of irregularity. He presumed there never was a point clearer than the Resolution was in this respect. They had acted so on the very last Meeting. They were then called on to appoint a Committee to carry certain Resolutions into execution, and yet, on the motion of the hon. gent. who had just sat down, they had set aside the original Resolutions, and adopted others diametrically opposite in their stead. Here, too, the Court was called on to protect its own character, and the character of a Gentleman, of whose conduct they had formerly expressed their unanimous approbation, but who was now most grossly traduced. Notwithstanding all he had heard from the Gentleman opposite, and though he had often seen him unnecessarily load himself with dust and cobwebs, he confessed that he did not recollect an occasion on which the hon. gent. had done so to so little purpose as on the present occasion. To the first paragraph of the Resolution the Worthy Gentleman had no objection. His objection to the second paragraph consisted only in finding fault with the words of it, so far as the expression *disposal* of Church Patronage was used; like that arch-quibbler Mr. Canning, who wished to infer that Lord Castlereagh had not abused East India Patronage, because the transaction had not been carried into effect. When they saw a Dr. O'Meara brought into the presence of Royalty by the interference of a common prostitute, was it possible for that Court to doubt, that the most corrupt

interference had taken place in Church Patronage? As to the third paragraph, he (Mr. Waithman) maintained that the speech of the Speaker did apply, and that it did most completely reprobate the system from beginning to end. Lord Liverpool, too, had done the same in the House of Lords, and both had stated, that though the practice was known to exist, it had never till then been publicly acknowledged, and the Speaker, on that occasion, observed, that if the practice had not then been detected, in the end Seats would have been publicly sold, and that such traffic "would bring a greater scandal upon Parliament and the nation than this country has ever known since Parliament had an existence." The Worthy Gentleman agreed with the next paragraph, concerning lord Castlereagh, who was, as another Worthy Gentleman (Mr. Box) had described him, one of the greatest and most leading men in the country! Yes, this was one of our great leading men, but, he should say, whatever the Worthy Gentleman opposite might think of the declaration, that, under such men as Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, this country could not last long. The hon. Gent. said he loved virtue and detested vice; but how did he love virtue? as he did a good dinner. He loved virtue and detested vice in the abstract. Such a thing might be possible to the hon. Gent.'s metaphysical mind, but, for his part, he (Mr. W.) could not comprehend it. Though such calamities as vice and corruption do exist in a State, did the hon. Gent. mean to say that they ought to be endured? Mr. Canning was told that the discovery had taken place; he said that a stand must be made; and so there had, for both parties united to preserve the system. The Hon. Gent. said, that in the time of sir W. Pulteney there was corruption in the State, and to a greater extent than at present. He asked the hon. Gent. if he could shew him a Government which had at any time been overturned, unless from the dreadful corruption which existed? and ought not that Court, and the country, at all times to exert themselves against corruption, and in favour of virtue. Every free country must be in a sort of constant state of resistance on the part of the people, to keep in check the encroachments of government. The hon. gent. seemed, however, to think that no interference should take place on the part of the people. In this he could not agree. We had frequently

had good ministers, if the house of commons would have kept a vigilant eye over them. So had that Court good officers; but if the Court were to suffer their officers to have it in their power to bribe the members of the Court, how long did they suppose the Court would continue to possess a controul over their own officers, worthy and upright men as they might otherwise be.

Mr. S. DIXON wished to protect the officers of the Court.

Mr. WAITHMAN recommended to the worthy gent. to reserve his defence for himself. He was satisfied there was not an officer belonging to that Court who believed that he meant any thing personal to them. Under any Administration, even though Chatham himself was at the helm of public affairs, we must have, and even such a minister would require, a vigilant house of commons to look after him. The hon. gent. said that Mr. Wardle caused derision in the house by the mention of a house in the City for the Sale of Offices. True, he did so; but those same persons who then laughed at his information, afterwards availed themselves of it by prosecuting the offenders, charging the offence as one calculated to vilify and degrade the government, and to bring it into contempt. The hon. gent. said, borrowing the expression of Mr. Perceval or Mr. Canning, that Mr. Wardle wished to reduce the expenditure by reducing the army. This was not the case; he wished to do so by reducing only what was useless and unprofitable. He recollects, that in the latter end of the administration of lord North, when he could no longer stand against the opposition by which he was assailed, that a Committee of Accounts was appointed. Afterwards, in 1797, a Finance Committee was appointed, and many reports were made; but to what good end? Commissioners were also appointed to examine the accounts in the West Indies. Several millions were then outstanding, and yet the salaries of the persons employed have hitherto exceeded the advantage derived by the public from their labours. He (Mr. Waithman) had looked into these accounts, which were as voluminous as Rapin's history of England, and it was true, as Mr. Windham had said, we were corruption from top to bottom, and could never expect to do good, till things were completely changed. In the War Office there was a yearly allowance for salaries to the amount of 28,000*l.*

yet this sum remained at the disposal of the Secretary to the Treasury, and was no doubt given away in pensions, &c.; for here the arrear of accounts was explained on the ground that there was not a sufficient number of clerks, or that they were unqualified for the duty. They were, no doubt, in many instances, young gentlemen, who, with notions too exalted for a mercantile life, were set down there to spend their forenoons in amusing themselves with Anti-Jacobin Newspapers and Magazines, as a fit preparation for the more public sphere in which they were afterwards destined to move. He proceeded to mention a Mr. Hamilton, who, with a salary of 150*l.* in the War Office, was also secretary to Mr. W. Dundas, with a salary of 300*l.*; clerk of the Ordnance, with a salary, and with free house, coals and candles, who neglected all these duties that he might act as Surveyor of Taxes, and who on Mr. W. Dundas's retiring, had received a pension of 150*l.* per annum, for extraordinary services rendered to Mr. W. Dundas during the two years he held the office of Secretary at War. He also mentioned a servant of Mr. C. Jenkinson's, who held the office of a Messenger in the War Office for upwards of 30 years, during all of which time he never quitted his master (then lord Liverpool's) service: that general Fitzpatrick's Secretary had also, on his retiring, received a pension as Mr. W. Dundas's had done. These were all men, he contended, who ought not to be trusted. The hon. gent. said there were only 200 members of the House of Commons who were supposed to be influenced by the Minister. He (Mr. W.) maintained that there were not 20 in the whole house who were completely disinterested, he meant through themselves or relatives, or through peers with whom they might be connected, or in stations naval or military; men might be as much influenced by expecting as by having; and what immense influence must not a revenue of 78 millions per annum be supposed to create. When lord Amherst was Commander in Chief the whole expenditure of his office was 1,000*l.* a year; now it amounted to 8,000*l.* Col. Gordon, the Secretary to the Commander, had 2,000*l.* a year, being double the whole expence in lord Amherst's time, yet it surely would not be contended that the business was not as well done then as it was now. The hon. gent. called the Resolution of the Worthy Alderman crude. He must rather con-

ceive the speech of the worthy Gentleman to be so. He had never left the Court more in the dark, than on the present occasion, though he himself seemed to have been getting new lights lately, which taught him to advise the Court to support the prerogative against the people. He proceeded to read a quotation from a speech of Mr. Justice Bailey, in the case of sir Christopher Hawkins, in which the learned Judge states, that if the rights of election are so to be trampled on, the Constitution which is now our boast, will be something even less than a shadow. This was the opinion of one of the Judges of England, and where was this shadow even to be found, if the House of Commons, instead of discharging their duty, was to protect the prerogative against the people. The Hon. Gentleman's arguments went to prove quite the reverse of what he wished, and completely shewed that the country could not at present have any confidence in Ministers. They had now so much to do in the House of Commons, that they could not think of the great affairs of the nation. When the Hon. Gent. declared that he would be ready to go up to the Throne week after week till the corruptions in the State were done away, he (Mr. W.) did not expect that he would have shewn so little punctuality. When the other worthy Member, however (Mr. Kemble), declared that his blood was boiling at the distresses of the people, he little expected that he could have been silent during the series of calamities which the country had lately sustained by the gross inefficiency of its Government; but still less could he have imagined that that worthy Gentleman would have come forward, and called on the Court to rescind the motion, which did them more honour than any other Resolutions which they had passed for several years. The worthy Gentleman talked of charity; let him think however of those brave men, and their relatives, who perished along with the gallant Moore, and in our other more recent expeditions. — And though we were told that due inquiry had been made, Mr. Canning since tells us no, and yet, while he admits the inefficiency of the minister, under whom the Expedition was prepared, he sits calmly by and allows him to take the superintendance of two other Expeditions, and to send two other armies to be wasted, one at Walcheren, and another in Spain. It was the duty of that Court to stand up and defend every public man

when they saw him attacked by both parties. When Col. Wardle first stood up in the House of Commons he had not one man to support him, and yet, at the end, he had 125 with him against both parties. It was his (Mr. W.'s) firm conviction that the country could not stand unless the House of Commons kept a vigilant eye over ministers. By passing a Bill to prevent the Sale of Seats in the House of Commons, they had themselves recognized the existence of such a practice. If the Court rescinded this Vote, they would thereby pass a censure on Col. Wardle, and degrade themselves and their Constituents. If so, he hoped meetings of the Citizens would be called to consider of their conduct. If they acted so unworthily, he should not desire again to have a seat in that Court.

Mr. S. DIXON supported the motion.

Mr. KEMBLE disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon the character of Mr. Wardle, declaring that if he conceived the Motion he thought it his duty to submit had such a tendency, he would immediately withdraw it. Mr. Wardle was so situated at present, that he would feel it unjust to make any attack upon him. Full opportunity for explanation ought in justice to be afforded him, before any decision was formed against him. That there was a great deal necessary to be explained was obvious, and he had no doubt that much would come out of which the public had not yet the least idea. As to the sentiments of the Gentleman on the floor, (Mr. Waithman), he must say, that although he approved of his conduct on certain occasions, he was not prepared to go the entire length to which these sentiments would lead. He felt himself quite an independent man, owing no favour to any Minister, and he was decidedly hostile to corruption, which he would have torn up by the roots; but the learned Gentleman on the floor had taught him a lesson, how cautious he should be as to the company with which he acted, in prosecution of his principles, lest he should be betrayed farther than it was his wish to do.

Mr. Alderman ATKINS deprecated the unqualified censure of the House of Commons, which the Court had heard in the course of the debate. How, he would ask, could it be consistently maintained, that there were not 20 independent Members in that Assembly, when it was recollect, as the Gentleman himself who

made the assertion quoted, that 125 Members voted with Mr. Wardle; and when its conduct in Lord Melville's case was taken into account, there he would ever contend that the independence and integrity of the House of Commons—that its proud support of the British character, was most eminently proved.

Mr. MILLER emphatically contrasted the conduct pursued by certain Gentlemen, with regard to the Family of the King and the interest of the Minister. When it was proposed to thank Mr. Wardle for his opposition to the Duke of York, these Gentlemen, notwithstanding all their vaunted loyalty, were silent or acquiescent; but the moment the interest of the Minister was attacked, up started this party to raise a hue and cry against Mr. Wardle. It would be well for real loyalists to consider this contrast. It was equally material to the King and to the people to consider it, and to examine the character and motives of those who abused Mr. Wardle. They must be stupid indeed who could suppose, that that abuse sprung from any objection to vice, or any regard to virtue. No, Mr. Wardle was not abused, because he was believed to be wrong, but because he was known to be right—and if he had not deserved the approbation and esteem of good men, the base men, by whom he was abused, would have been his panegyrists. But Mr. Wardle, supported by the people, must triumph over such foes.

Upon the question being put, a very decided majority appeared in favour of the Previous Question.—We could not indeed perceive more than five hands in favour of Mr. Kemble's motion.

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

**SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.—Treaty of Peace between Sweden and Russia. Dated 5-17th September 1809.**

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity! His Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, equally animated by the desire of causing the advantages of peace to succeed to the calamities of war, and of re-establishing harmony and good understanding between their states, have, to this effect, appointed their Plenipotentiaries; namely, his Majesty the King of Sweden, Baron Count Louis Bogislas; Christopher de Stedinch, one of the Nobles of the kingdom of Sweden, General of

Infantry of the Swedish armies, Knight and Commander of the Swedish Orders, Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class; and M. Andrew Frederick Skojolderand, Colonel and Commander of the Order of the Sword: and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Count Nicholas Romanoff, actual Privy Counsellor, Member of the Council of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of Commerce, Senator, actual Chamberlain, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Wladimir, and of St. Anne of the First Classes, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour of France, Knight of the Royal Prussian Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle, and of the Royal Dutch Order of the Union, and M. David Alopeus, actual Chamberlain, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Wladimir of the second class, and of St. Anne, of the first;—who, after the exchange of their respective full powers, found to be good and in due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

**Art. I.** There shall henceforth be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The high contracting parties will make it their chief study to maintain a perfect harmony between themselves, their states, and subjects, and will carefully avoid whatever may hereafter disturb the union so happily re-established.

**II.** His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having manifested the invariable resolution not to separate his interests from those of his allies, and his Swedish Majesty wishing to give, in favour of his subjects, all the extent possible to the advantages of the Peace, promises and engages, in the most solemn and binding manner, to neglect nothing which, on his part, may tend to the prompt conclusion of Peace between him and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, by the means of the direct negotiations already commenced with these Powers.

**III.** His Majesty the King of Sweden, in order to give an evident proof of his desire to renew the most intimate relations with the august allies of his Majesty the

Emperor of all the Russias, promises to adhere to the continental system, with such modifications as shall be more particularly stipulated in the negotiation which is about to be opened between Sweden, France, and Denmark.—Meanwhile, his Swedish Majesty engages, from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, to order that the ports of the kingdom of Sweden shall be closed, both to the ships of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, with the exception of the importation of salt and colonial productions, which habit has rendered necessary to the people of Sweden.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias promises before-hand, to consent to every modification which his allies may consider just and fit to be admitted in favour of Sweden, with respect to commerce and mercantile navigation.

**IV.** His Majesty, the King of Sweden, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, renounces irrevocably and in perpetuity, in favour of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his successors to the Throne and Empire of Russia, all his rights and titles to the Governments hereafter specified, which have been conquered from the Crown of Sweden by the arms of his Imperial Majesty in the present war, namely—The Governments of Kymenagard, Nyland, and Tavastchus, Abo and Bjorneborg, with the isles Aland, Savolax and Corelia, Wasa, Uleaborg, and part of West Bothnia, extending to the river of Tornea, as shall be fixed in the subsequent Article in the demarcation of the frontiers.—These governments, with all the inhabitants, towns, ports, fortresses, villages and islands, as well as all the dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, shall henceforth belong, in full property and sovereignty, to the Empire of Russia, and shall remain incorporated with it.—To this effect his Majesty the King of Sweden promises, in the most solemn and obligatory manner, as well for himself as for his successors, and all the kingdom of Sweden, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the said governments, provinces, islands, and territories, all the inhabitants of which shall, in virtue of this renunciation, be relieved from the homage and oath of fidelity by which they were bound to the Crown of Sweden.

(*To be continued.*)